

THE
S P E E C H E S
OF
WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq. &c.
ON THE
A B O L I T I O N
OF THE
S L A V E T R A D E.

[PRICE ONE SHILLING.]

THE CHURCH

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

THE
S P E E C H E S

OF

MR. WILBERFORCE,
LORD PENRHYN,
MR. BURKE,
SIR W. YOUNG,
ALDERMAN NEWMHAM,
MR. DEMPSTER,
MR. MARTIN,

MR. PITT,
MR. GRENVILLE,
MR. FOX,
MR. GASCOIGNE,
ALDERMAN SAWBRIDGE,
MR. SMITH,
&c. &c.

ON A

MOTION FOR THE ABOLITION

OF THE

S L A V E T R A D E,

IN THE

H O U S E O F C O M M O N S,

M A Y T H E 12th, 1789.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

MR. WILBERFORCE'S TWELVE PROPOSITIONS.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE
BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

M.DCC.LXXXIX.

837

REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE
LAND OFFICE
IN ANSWER TO A
RESOLUTION OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS
PASSED IN 1845
RELATIVE TO THE
LANDS BELONGING TO
THE CROWN

MOTION FOR THE ABOLITION

1846

775

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MR. WILKINSON'S TWELVE PROPOSITIONS



PRINTED FOR JOHN STODDART, OPPOSITE
BANKING HOUSE, ROYAL EXCHANGE

DEBATE ON THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Tuesday, May 12.

MR. *Wilberforce* moved the Order of the Day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the Petitions that had been presented against the Slave Trade. Mr. Wilberforce.

The Order of the Day being read,

Mr. Wilberforce moved, That the Report of the Committee of Privy Council be referred to the said Committee: That the Acts passed in the Islands relative to Slaves be referred to the said Committee: That the evidence adduced last year on the Slave Trade, be referred to the said Committee: That the Petitions last session offered against the Slave Trade be referred to the said Committee: And, that the Accounts presented to the House in the last and present session, relative to the exports and imports to Africa, be referred to the said Committee.

These Motions being all agreed to, the House immediately resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, (Sir William Dolben in the Chair.)

Mr. Wilberforce began with declaring, that when he considered how much discussion the subject he was about to explain to the Committee had occasioned, not only in that House, but throughout the kingdom, and throughout Europe; when he considered, that through the whole of the business, he had courted and anxiously solicited enquiry; when he considered the extent and importance of its object, the variety of interests involved in it, and the consequences

consequences that might be the result, he owned he had been filled with apprehensions, lest a subject of such magnitude, and a cause of so much weight, should suffer from the weakness of its advocate; but when he recollected that in the progress of the enquiries he had been under the necessity of making, he had every where been received with that candour that convinced him that his motives were considered in the most favourable view, and that however they might then differ, they were all likely to agree in the end; he had dismissed his apprehensions, and marched forward with a firmer step in the cause of justice, of humanity, and of freedom. He lamented that the subject had excited so much warmth, and feared that they came ill prepared to treat it with impartiality. He declared, he himself came forward with the greatest coolness, and wished all heat to be abated, that the subject might be entered upon calmly; he therefore challenged a fair and cool discussion of the Motion he should have the honour of making. The motion he meant to offer, was perfectly reconcileable to political expediency, and at the same time to national humanity. It was by no means a party question, nor would it, he hoped, be so considered; he was convinced, in his own mind, that in the end it would be found serviceable to all parties, and to the best interests of the country. He came not forward to accuse the West India Planter; he came not forward to accuse the Liverpool Merchants; he came forward to accuse no one; he came forward to confess himself guilty, for the purpose of shewing to that House, that if guilt any where existed, which ought to be remedied, they were all of them participators in it. In going through the business, he said, he would touch slightly only on some of the points relative to the trade, and call the attention of the House to the leading features of that traffick. He conceived it to be unnecessary to detain them long on the subject of the trade on the coast of Africa; it was well known, that people were sold there as goods, and that considerable numbers of Africans were continually conveyed away from their country by owners of British vessels; the question then was, Which way came they by them? In answer to that question, he declared, that the report of the Privy Council, which was then on the Table, afforded evidence the most satisfactory and conclusive; his Majesty's Ministers had instituted an enquiry of great extent,

S L A V E T R A D E.

extent, and on a studious examination of their report, he had found many things in it that confirmed every proposition that he had maintained before, and which he had taken from information of the best authority, and from every history he had read; but it was unnecessary to quote either the report or history. Plain reason and common sense must point out how the poor Africans were obtained; Africa was a country divided under many kings, under many governments, under many laws; in many parts the princes were despotic, and others governed with law maintained to a certain degree; men were considered merely as goods and property, and as such subject to plunder in the same manner as property in other despotic countries: the kings and princes of that unfortunate country were naturally fond of our commodities, and to obtain them by the captivity and sale of their countrymen, they waged war on each other, and ravaged their own country, when they could find no pretence for quarrelling with their neighbouring sovereigns and their subjects; in their Courts of Law many poor wretches who were ignorant were condemned; and to obtain a sufficient number of Slaves, thousands were kidnapped, and torn from their families and their country, and sent into slavery. All this, he said, was recorded in every history of Africa, and was now verified by the Report on the Table. Look to the reign of Henry the Eighth, and it would be found that the same convictions and the same penalties follow conviction. The kings in Africa did not engage in war like the kings of Europe, for glory: they engaged in war for the purpose of obtaining what we had made their necessities. The cruelty of those engaged in the inhuman traffic of procuring Slaves he painted in a strong light, and said, the first thing he recollected by way of exemplifying these people being made Slaves, was, the celebrated Tragedy at Calabar, where two large African villages having been some time at war, at length made peace, which was to have been ratified by inter-marriages; this, he said, from the best authority, appeared to have been defeated by the cruel machinations of our people, who seeing the trade must stop, again sowed dissention between the villages, set one against the other, fought alternately for each, and massacred and enslaved the inhabitants of both. Tragical and shocking as this transaction might appear, there was not a single history

D E B A T E O N T H E

history of Africa to be read, in which such scenes were not related. The Gentlemen, he said, who defended this trade, were warped and blinded by their interests, and would not be convinced of the miseries they were daily heaping on their fellow creatures. By their conduct they had placed the inhabitants of Africa in a worse state than that of the most barbarous and savage nation; they had destroyed what ought to be the bond of union and safety; they had rendered the whole country one general scene of discord and anarchy; they had set kings against their subjects; had set subjects against each other; had rendered every private family miserable, and created one general scene of disunion and despair. When these people were separated from all they loved, he had thought that he had come to an end of the sufferings of the poor Africans. He had vainly imagined, that when men, with affections and feelings like to our own, were torn from their country, and every thing dear to them, that their sufferings would have ceased, and that on their passage to their place of destination, they would have had their sufferings alleviated, and been treated as human beings. The sad reverse was the case, and it was not in his power to impress the House with what he felt; the description of their conveyance was impossible, *so much misery condensed in so little room*, so much affliction added to misery, that it appeared to be an attempt by bodily suffering to deprive them of the feelings of their minds. Six hundred linked together, trying to get rid of each other, and crammed in a close vessel, with every object that was nauseous and disgusting; with pestilence, disease, and despair, in such a situation as to render it impossible to add any thing more to human misery. Yet, shocking as this description must be felt to be by every man, it had been described by several witnesses from Liverpool as a comfortable conveyance; Mr. Norris had painted the accommodation of a slave ship in the most glowing terms; he had represented it in a manner, that would have baffled his attempts at praise of the most luxurious scenes: "The Slaves, according to his account, were fumigated with frankincense and lime-water; instruments of music were employed to amuse them; the *song* and the *dance*, he had said, were *promoted*; the women were employed in weaving fanciful ornaments for their hair; games of chance were encouraged; their food was alternately of their own country, and European; and they were indulged

indulged in all their little humours, and kept in the utmost spirits." Another person had said, "the sailors were flogged out of the hearing of the Africans, lest it should depress their spirits." He wished not to say that such descriptions were wilful misrepresentations; if they were not, it proved that prejudice was capable of spreading a film over the eyes thick enough to occasion total blindness. Other accounts, however, and from men of the greatest veracity, made it appear, that instead of apartments for those poor wretches, instead of those comfortable conveniences above described, they were placed in niches, and along the decks in such a manner that it is impossible for any one to pass among them, however careful he might be, without treading upon them; and Sir George Yonge had testified, that in a slave ship on which he went on board, and which had not completed her cargo by two hundred and fifty, instead of the scent of frankincense being perceptible to the nostrils, the stench was intolerable: the allowance of water was so deficient, that the Slaves were frequently found gasping for life; and almost suffocated; and the *pulse*, which they were favoured with, as a luxury of their own country, was absolutely *English horse-beans*. As Mr. Norris had said the *song* and *dance* were *promoted*, he could not suffer it to pass without acquainting the House with the meaning of the word *promoted*, as there used. The way the *song* and the *dance* were *promoted*, was by severe whipping; when the poor wretches would not take voluntary exercise; their dances and their songs afforded them so much merriment, that the moment they were ceased to be promoted, tears, sighs, and melancholy succeeded. After expatiating on the miseries of the passage, Mr. Wilberforce noticed the deaths, and the loss thereby consequent on the whole cargo; he entered into a minute statement of the losses by death, which, he said, amounted to no less than between fifty and sixty out of every hundred taken from Africa; he declared, the average loss on the middle passage to be rather more than an eighth of the whole, or twelve and a half per cent. four and a half loss from entering the ports of their destination to the discharge of their cargoes; and upwards of thirty-three in the hundred lost in seasoning. Having got thus far, Mr. Wilberforce said, he determined to proceed, whatever might be the consequence: When he saw the ruin the trade was productive

of in Africa, he declared he felt himself impelled to go forward. He feared to go back. The Gentlemen who honoured him with their conference on the subject had said, with emphasis, "it was their Acts of Parliament which led the African Slave Traders to such practices; it was their Statutes calculated to ruin them, for doing that which they had in the first instance induced them to do." After much elucidatory observation on his motives and his conduct, Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to enquire why the Blacks, naturally prolific, decreased in the West Indies, which, he said, he had endeavoured to ascertain as far as possible. The first thing it became necessary to enquire about was, the mortality of the Blacks in the West Indies, and why, in a climate as good as their own, such a decrease should have existed as to render continual importations necessary. The first great cause he stated to be the disproportion of males to females, there being upon an average five males to three females. The next cause he stated to be the sad condition in which, he learned from surgeons, that they were brought on shore, made up for the market by astringents, escarotics, washes, mercurial ointments, and repelling drugs. There were, he said, many other causes, excessive labour, their not being properly and sufficiently fed, their universal dissoluteness of morals, and hard and rigorous treatment. Every one of these causes of decrease he discussed with great minuteness, and said, they each of them admitted of a remedy; they might be better clothed, they might be less worked, and better treated. Mr. Wilberforce entered into a long statement, shewing that these remedies had been increasing in practice, and as they had increased, the decrease of Slaves had in an equal proportion lessened: by such measures he proved, that the decrease of Slaves in Jamaica had lessened in so great a degree, that from the year 1774 to the present year, the decrease was not quite one in an hundred, and that in fact they were at present in a state of increase. He stated the islands of Barbadoes, of Nevis, of Antigua, and the Bermudas, to be like Jamaica, lessening their decrease, and holding forth an evident and reasonable expectation of a speedy state of increase. If Gentlemen, he said, should agree with him that these accounts were authentic, he was confident that they would agree with him that by good usage the Slaves would increase, and that there was no

farther need of importation, and a consequent waste of the human species. He entered into argument to shew, that those who argued against the Motion, argued falsely on their own interest: He contended, that by fewer hands, the West Indies might be cultivated to greater advantage to the proprietors of plantations, and of this country, by the produce of cinnamon, coffee, and cocoa, than by sugars; the produce of the plantations, he said, might also be considerably increased with less hands than were at present employed by the introduction of their agriculture machines: He quoted Mr. Long, to prove, that the plough, little used in the West Indies, did the service of 100 slaves, and caused the same ground to produce three hogheads of sugar, which at other times would produce but two,

Mr. Wilberforce then took notice of the conduct of the Merchants of Liverpool, who last year declared it was a losing trade at two slaves to a ton, and yet pursued it when restricted to five to three tons, which they said would ruin them. He believed it was a losing adventure in the same manner as the Lottery was a losing adventure, in which some individuals gained a fortune, while others, who might purchase a considerable part of the Lottery, would be sure to lose, and in which, though all knew it to be a losing adventure, many were very ready to engage.—The gentlemen of Liverpool had stated the Slave Trade to be of such importance, that its abolition would ruin them, as its increase and success had raised them. He would not believe that Liverpool either was raised, or depended for its consequence, on the success of the Slave Trade; the whole outward-bound tonnage of that import not being less than 160,000 or 170,000 tons, while the export tonnage from that port for the African trade was not more than 12,000. Liverpool, he was sure, owed its greatness to other and very different causes, not to the paltry consideration, in so considerable a number out of 160 or 170,000, as 12,000. He was warranted, he said, by the Liverpool gentlemen themselves to declare the trade to be a losing one; and he was convinced, if they would open their eyes, that they would be unanimous for the abolition of the trade. Another point he could not pass over without particularly calling the attention of the House to it. Many had asserted the effect it would have on our seamen, and the dangerous consequences

consequences that would result to our Marine, by the abolition of the Slave Trade; many had gone so far as to assert, that it would be the total ruin of our Navy, and the increase of that of our rivals. For an answer to those assertions, he referred to what he considered to be the most valuable part of the Report, and for which they were; and the country at large, indebted to the praiseworthy and indefatigable exertions of Mr. Clarkson. By the Report it appeared, that instead of the African Trade being a nursery for British seamen, it was their grave; by that Report it was evident that more seamen died in that trade, than in the whole remaining trade of the country; out of 910 sailors employed in the African trade, 216 died in the year; while, upon a fair average of the same number of men employed in the trades to the East and West Indies, to Petersburg, Newfoundland, and Greenland, no more than 87 died. Mr. Wilberforce next read an extract of a letter from Governor Parry, of Barbadoes, to Lord Sydney, Secretary of State, in which the Governor declared, that he could no longer contain himself, on account of the cruelties he knew to be committed by the Slave Traders on the Coast of Africa, and the ill treatment that British sailors experienced in those vessels, great numbers of which, when the Slave Ships arrived in the Windward Islands, and no danger to be apprehended of insurrections by the Slaves, were frequently quarrelled with by their Captains, and discharged, where they were left to perish by sickness, or to enter into foreign service, and be for ever lost to their country. Governor Parry concluded by declaring, that the enormities of the trade were so great as to demand the immediate interference of the Legislature. After making some observations upon the ill-treatment received by sailors in this trade, Mr. Wilberforce answered the arguments urged against the Abolition, on account of the danger of our rivals pursuing the trade, if we gave it up. On that subject, he said, he had no fears at all. In the first place, he would not calumniate the French so much as to imagine that they would take what we gave up, and be guilty of entering upon a trade like that, which entailed misery on many thousands; if they did engage in it, they would even then serve us; because if he was most powerful who has the longest purse, and money being the sinew of war, if they laid out their capital in little service to them-

themselves, it must consequently be of service to us, and the cheapness of our manufactures would force them to buy of us what they wanted for the African market. They carrying it on would not justify us in doing so, for on that principle the most atrocious acts of violence and iniquity might be justified. It was not likely, he said, they would carry it on, but that, on the contrary, from the Minister at present at the head of their finance (Mons. Necker), it would be discountenanced and abolished there; the earnest wish of that able Minister to have a trade so disgraceful to human nature totally abolished and destroyed, stood publicly recorded. Mr. Wilberforce said, he was also happy to relate to the Committee an anecdote of the present King of France, which proved that he was a friend to the Abolition; for being petitioned to abolish a Society formed for the annihilation of the Slave Trade, his Majesty answered that he would not, and was happy to hear that so humane a society was formed in his dominions. Hence he was convinced that France would not so destroy her honour and her character, as a great nation, to carry on the trade. He imputed the backwardness of cultivation in Africa to slavery, from which, he said, it would speedily emerge, if the cause was taken away. Europe, three or four centuries back, was, in many parts, as barbarous as Africa at present, and had as bad practices as the Africans were charged with; for what would be said, if so late down as the middle of the thirteenth century, he should be able to find a parallel to the practice of Africa, and to prove, that in certain parts of Europe they sold their children; that part of Europe, he said, was the City of Bristol; which trade was put a stop to by the Irish, in the reign of King Henry VII. who resolved to buy no more of the Bristol children, after a general calamity experienced by the Irish, and which they imputed as a judgment from Heaven in token of its wrath, on account of their traffick in children. The only thing he had, therefore, to solicit of the House was, to shew that they were now as much enlightened as the Irish were four centuries back, and refused to buy any more of the children or inhabitants of another country.

Mr. *Wilberforce* adduced much farther argument to prove, that great advantages might be attained by a fair and honourable trading intercourse with Africa; after which he concluded by begging

ging pardon of the House for having required their attention so long; he said, he could have expressed his conviction upon the business in a few words; he needed only for that purpose to have quoted a commandment from Holy Writ, "Thou shalt do no murder;" but he thought it his duty to lay the whole of the case and the whole of its guilt before them. He really believed they were not aware of its enormity and its extent till that moment, and in so much they were not answerable for its having existed so long; but apprized of it as they now were, it behoved them to apply an adequate and immediate remedy. They would see that no mitigations, no palliatives, would answer the purpose; nothing short of an absolute Abolition would do, and for that he should most strenuously contend. They owed it to Africa as much as to their own moral characters, and he hoped they would follow up the principle of one of the repentant African Captains, who had proved a voluntary witness, and make Africa all the atonement in their power for the multifarious injuries she had experienced at the hands of British subjects. He said, he had reduced the subject, of which he had treated, to ten distinct Propositions, which, when they spoke farther on the topick, he should be ready to support respectively by argument, and prove by evidence. Mr. Wilberforce paid a very handsome compliment to the Slave Trade Committee, who, he said, had laboured with the greatest assiduity to make the subject understood in all parts of the world, which from its own power of interesting the human mind, had engaged men of all religions and opinions in its behalf. To call for any decision that evening, he said, would not be doing either the subject or the parties justice, nor using them candidly. He would therefore leave his Propositions on the table for a few days consideration of all.

Lord Pen-
rhyn.

Lord *Penrhyn* said, at that late hour of the night it was impossible for him to attempt to answer the Honourable Gentleman; one thing, however, he could not help noticing then, and that was, that the Hon. Gentleman had misrepresented so many articles with regard to the West Indies, in respect to its population, &c. that no reliance whatever could be placed on the picture he had chosen to exhibit. In two or three instances, where he had mentioned Mr. Long, he had misquoted him, and over-looked many things essential

tial to a fair state of the case. He did not mean to take up the time of the House then ; but when they should be called upon to vote the Propositions they had just heard read, he should take the liberty of offering his observations upon them, and upon the whole of the argument of the Hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *Gascoyne* said, he did not intend to go into a reply at that late hour. But there were some parts of the Hon. Gentleman's speech, which he would just notice. He meant the treatment of the Africans in their mid passage to the West Indies, and the mortality of the seamen. He had been glad to hear, Mr. *Gascoyne* said, that the whole of the Propositions was grounded upon evidence to be found in the Report of the Privy Council. He had read that Report as carefully as possible, during the short time that had been allowed Gentlemen to make themselves masters of it, and there was scarcely an assertion which the Hon. Gentleman had hazarded, that was not contradicted by respectable authority referred to in the Report. The Hon. Gentleman had displayed great ingenuity as well as eloquence ; and therefore, as there were other important witnesses besides those on whom the Hon. Gentleman had rested his facts, he had often been obliged to quote them, but never said much upon them. The Hon. Gentleman, he observed, had alluded to something which he said last year, and that was, that with any thing under two Africans to a ton, the trade could not go on. The fact was so, and if the Hon. Gentleman thought the Bill of last year had produced no inconvenience he was mistaken. If he were to see the numbers of sailors out of employ at Liverpool, and the quantity of ships laid up, he would not think the Delegates had made a contradiction to what their witnesses had asserted at the Bar of the House. Mr. *Gascoyne* said, he was glad to find that the Hon. Gentleman meant a fair unqualified Abolition of the Slave Trade. He only wished that the Hon. Gentleman had at once come to the vote he mentioned. He had voted on the Question of Right with the Right Hon. Gentleman during the Regency discussion, and this was a question which, like that, ought to be decided. He added, that he was persuaded that the Slave Trade might be made a much greater source of revenue and riches to this country, than as it stood at present. Mr. *Gascoyne* concluded with expressing a hope that the Hon. Gentleman

man would allow sufficient time for Gentlemen to examine the calculations upon which he had grounded himself in many parts of his speech, and to try how far they were correct.

Mr. Wilberforce.

Mr. *Wilberforce* declared, he did not really know that in any instance whatever he had mistated any one fact; if he had done so, it would be easy to convict him out of the report upon the table. Sure he was, he did not mean to misrepresent any fact; he believed he had not done so, and that when the Hon. Gentlemen came minutely to compare his statement with the evidence afforded by the Report, they would find they had been mistaken. With regard to the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, supposing that he meant to charge the declaration, that less than two African Slaves to a ton would be a losing adventure, as a charge that practice had contradicted, he meant no such thing; so far from it, he had argued it the other way, it being his decided opinion, that it was a losing trade and a lottery, which nothing but the spirit of speculation and adventure kept going. As to the giving time for examination of his calculation, as he meant the matter to be fairly and fully discussed, he had no objection to naming Monday next for the Committee's sitting again.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* said, he did not mean to detain the Committee but for a very few minutes. He was not able, if he had been inclined to it; but as from his other Parliamentary duty he might not have it in his power to attend the business in its course, he would take that opportunity of stating his opinion upon the subject. In the first place, he thought the House, the nation, and all Europe, under very great and serious obligations to the Hon. Gentleman, for having brought the subject forward in a manner the most masterly, impressive, and eloquent. Principles so admirably laid down, with so much order and force, were equal to any thing he had ever heard of in modern oratory; and perhaps it was not excelled by any thing to be met with in Demosthenes. A trade began with savage war, prosecuted with unheard of cruelty, continued during the mid passage with the most loathsome imprisonment, and ending in perpetual exile and unremitting slavery, was a trade so horrid in all its circumstances, that it was impossible a single argument could be heard in its favour. On the score of prudence nothing could be said in defence of it, nor could it be justified by necessity, and

no case of inhumanity could be justified, but upon necessity; but no such necessity could be made out strong enough to bear out such traffick. It was the duty of that House therefore, to put an end to it: if it were said, that the interest of individuals required that it should continue, that argument ought not to be listened to. Supposing that a rich man had a capital, to a considerable amount, lying by him, and every one he observed who had a large capital was a rich man; all capitals required active motion, it was their nature not to remain passive and unemployed; but if a large capital were employed in a traffick, disgraceful to the nation, and shocking to humanity, it was the duty of that House to change its application, and instead of suffering it to be ill-employed, to direct it to be employed in some Trade, at once advantageous in its end, respectable in its nature, and useful to mankind. Nor was it any argument to say the capital was already engaged in the Slave Trade; for from its active principle when taken out of that Trade, it would soon find employment in another channel. This had been the case with the Merchants and Ship Owners of Liverpool, during the American war; the African Trade was then almost wholly lost, and yet the Ship Owners of Liverpool had their ships employed either as transports in the service of Government, or in other ways. After descanting on this point for some time with great soundness of reasoning, Mr. Burke said, he could have wished with the Member for Liverpool, that the business might have come to a conclusion at once, without voting the Propositions that had been read to them. He was not over fond of abstract propositions. They were seldom necessary, and often caused great difficulty and embarrassment. There was, besides, no occasion whatever to assign detailed reasons for a vote, which upon the face of it sufficiently justified the House in coming to it. If the Propositions should happen to be made, and not be carried in that House or the other, such a complication of mischiefs might follow, as would cause them heartily to lament that they ever were voted. If the ultimate Resolution should happen to be lost, he declared he was afraid the Propositions would pass as waste paper.

He reminded the Committee that it was necessary to look farther than the present moment, and to ask themselves if they had fortified their minds sufficiently to bear the consequences of the

step they were that night about to take. When they abandoned the Slave Trade, the Spaniards, and some other Foreign Power, might possibly take it up, and clandestinely supply our West-India Islands with Slaves. Had they virtue enough to see that, to bear the idea of another country reaping profits they had laid down, and to abstain from that envy natural to competitors in trade, so as to keep their virtue, steadily to pursue their purpose, and firmly to adhere to their determination? If so, let them thankfully proceed to vote the immediate abolition of the Trade. But if they should repent of their virtue, (and he had experienced miserable instances of such repentance) all hopes of future reformation would be lost; they would go back to a trade they had abandoned with redoubled attachment, and would adhere to it with a degree of avidity and shameless ardour to their own humiliation, and to the degradation and disgrace of the nation in the eyes of all Europe. These were considerations well worth adverting to, before they took a decisive step in a business, in which they ought not to move with any other determination than to abide the consequence at all hazards. If they had virtue enough to act in that manner, they would do themselves immortal honour, and would see the abolition of the most shameful trade, that ever the hardened heart of man could bear. Viewing the trade, and all the circumstances of it, with the horror that the full view of it the Hon. Gentleman had that day displayed, could not fail to excite in the breast of every man not dead to sensibility, he blamed not the Hon. Gentleman for knocking at every door, and appealing to every passion, well knowing, as the Hon. Gentleman had forcibly and correctly said, that mankind were governed by their sympathies. There were other passions, however, to be regarded; men were always ready to obey their sympathies when it cost them nothing. Were they prepared to pay the price of their virtue? The Hon. Gentleman had said, the West India Planters would have a compensation adequate to the loss incurred by the Abolition of the Slave Trade. He believed they would; but how they would have instant compensation for what they would lose, he could not conceive. With their loss, their virtue would be greater. Having put this very forcibly, Mr. Burke took notice of the testimony of Admiral Barrington, who had said, he envied the condition of the

Negroes

Negroes in the West India Islands. The Hon. Admiral, he said, he should rather suppose, meant, that as he had fought so often bravely for his country, he was determined to fight again, rather than suffer his countrymen to be made slaves. If, however, he was to be taken literally, his sensation could only be accounted for by his having seen the Negroes in the hour of their sports, when a sense of the misery of their condition was neither felt by themselves, nor visible to others. Nothing, he said, made a happy Slave, but a degraded man. In proportion as the mind grows callous to its degradation, and all sense of manly pride is lost, the Slave feels comfort. In fact, he is no longer a man. If he were to define a man, Mr. Burke declared, he would say with Shakespeare,

“Man is a being, holding large discourse,

“Looking before and after.”

A Slave was incapable of either looking before or after. Mr. Burke, in this part of his speech, addressed Sir William Dolben (the Chairman) with the words, “to conclude, *My Lords*,” which occasioning a loud laugh, Mr. Burke, with great good humour and pleasantry, accounted for this slip of the tongue, by telling Sir William Dolben that he had known men, who, sitting where he did, of no more merit than himself, had been elevated by things equally trifling; and so many people had been lately transplanted into the other House, that he could not help saying, “*My Lords*,” by anticipation. To be serious again, he took notice of the reference which Mr. Wilberforce had made to the evidence delivered at the Bar with so much ability by the late Mr. Glover, (Author of *Leonidas*) a Gentleman who, as Mr. Burke phrased it, had fortified the learned world with works, that would preserve his reputation to future ages. That Gentleman, he said, had told them at their Bar the probable mischiefs that the American war would draw on their trade, and because by a happy coincidence of circumstances that mischief had not ensued to its full predicated extent (a circumstance which had very happily disappointed his expectation) was the evidence of Mr. Glover to be despised and ridiculed, and was such a man to be treated as a false prophet? After dwelling upon this for some few minutes, Mr. Burke said he would conclude as he had begun, with giving his hearty and sincere thanks to the Hon. Gentleman for his speech,

and though he might not entirely approve of his mode of proceeding, he was ready to let him pursue his own mode, be that what it might, and to give him every possible support.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt said, though no question had been put that night, he could not help expressing his approbation of the Right Hon. Gentleman's sentiments, with almost every one of which he cordially concurred; and when he differed at all, it was only as to those sentiments which the Right Hon. Gentleman had stated with respect to the mode of proceeding, and the propriety of coming to the several distinct propositions, which were the grounds of the ultimate vote for an unqualified abolition of the Slave Trade. He returned his Hon. Friend, therefore, his sincere thanks for the manner in which he had brought the subject before the House, not merely in regard to the masterly, forcible, and perspicuous method of argument that he had pursued respecting it, but particularly for having chosen the only way in which it could be made obvious to the world, that they were warranted in every ground of fact, and of reason, in coming to that vote, which he trusted would be the end of their proceeding. He was satisfied, Mr. Pitt said, that no argument reconcileable to any idea of justice, could be given for continuing or carrying on the Trade in question; and he was perfectly clear that his opinion, at least the principles on which it was founded in his own mind, were totally unalterable; yet he was ready to hear, with the utmost candour and impartiality, all the arguments that could be offered by those who, either from conviction, or from any other motive, entertained different sentiments; being from all the attention he had been able to pay the subject, (and he was far from the affectation of treating it lightly, or meaning to have it understood, that he had not minutely investigated it) firmly persuaded, that nothing but the obscurity of general notions, unfathomed and unexamined, could have hitherto prevented all mankind (those immediately interested in the question alone excepted) from agreeing in one and the same opinion on the subject. The real grounds of the proceeding, which he trusted and doubted not but that House would adopt, were stated distinctly in the propositions, which when put point to point, would be found to be such as no people could venture to say No to, if they were not equally deaf to the language of reason, and of undeniable

fact;

fact; let those propositions once be put upon the Journals of that House, and it was almost impossible for them to fail. Persuaded as he was of the policy as well as humanity of the measure, could he have ever entertained any doubt of its success, (and that, he thought, when the grounds of it were clearly ascertained and well understood, was not by any means to be expected) still that would not have deterred him from persisting in his purpose. As to the mode ultimately by which the abolition of the Slave Trade was to be carried into effect, they were not at present to discuss it, but he trusted that it would not be found the means of inviting foreign powers to supply our Islands with Slaves by a clandestine trade, because after a debt founded on the immutable principles of justice was found to be due, it was impossible but that the country had means to have it paid; and when once they had come to a resolution to abolish the Slave Trade, they were not to be prevented by any fears of other nations being tempted by the profit resulting from a commerce, (which upon grounds of humanity and national honour they had abandoned) to carry it on in an illicit manner. Should that be the case, the language must be, that Great-Britain had resources to enable her to protect her Islands, and prevent that traffic being clandestinely carried on with them, which she had thought it for her own honour and character to abandon. It was their duty, and it should be their ambition, to take the lead in a business of so much national importance, and so much national credit; and he declared, he could not but have great confidence that foreign nations would be inclined to share the honour, and that if they were ready and willing to do so, they ought on their part, for the sake of the general good that would result from such a measure being universally taken to forego the honour in their favour, and to be contented to follow as their imitators in so excellent a work. He said, that if they were disposed to set about it in earnest, foreign nations might be invited to concur with them, either by negotiation immediately to be commenced, or by the effect that the propositions being put upon their Journals, would in all probability produce.

Sir William Young declared he wanted no inducement to concur in the Hon. Gentleman's proposal, if founded in the truth of what he had brought forward; but at the same time, the Right Hon. Gentleman

*Sir William
Young.*

Gentleman opposite to him must know, that if there were not great restrictions provided, there must be clandestine Trade carried on, and then the sufferings of the Africans would be ten times greater than any they now felt, while the trade was legal. This Sir William explained, by stating the peculiar situation of several of our Islands, and the amazing hardships that the Slaves must undergo in consequence of numbers of them being crammed into the holds of small vessels, and kept there while the vessels were obliged to keep hovering round the Islands and watching an opportunity to effect a landing of their cargo. Sir William mentioned a point of which the Hon. Gentleman who had opened the debate had taken no notice, and that was, the case of those who had lent money on mortgage upon the estates of the West India Planters. The decrease of Negroes on those estates would, he said, alter and decrease the value of the property of each; and consequently lessen the security of the mortgagees. He mentioned, that the Hon. Gentleman had stated that 15,000 Slaves had been destroyed by the hurricanes in the Island of Jamaica, and put the case, that a Planter who had mortgaged his estate had ninety Negroes, and a third of them were lost either by fevers, the small pox, or any other disease; in that case the Mortgagee would find his security so much altered, that he would naturally foreclose. Sir William thought it necessary to suggest these hints to the consideration of the Hon. Gentleman; declaring, however, that he was glad the Hon. Gentleman had brought the subject forward in the shape of distinct propositions, grounded upon evidence to be found in the Report of the Privy Council.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox said, he never had heard a debate with more satisfaction than the present. With regard to the plan of laying the Propositions before the House, where he was agreed as to the substance of a measure, he did not like to differ as to the form of it. If, however, he differed in any thing, it was rather with a view to forward the business than to injure it, or to throw any thing like an obstacle or impediment in its way. Nothing like either should come from him. What he thought, was, that all the propositions were not necessary to be voted, previous to the ultimate vote, though some of them undoubtedly were. In order to explain this, he reminded the Hon. Gentleman, that the Propositions were of

two forts: one fort alledged the fit grounds on which the House ought to proceed to abolish the Slave Trade, viz. that it was a disgrace to humanity, that it was attended with the loss of lives to our seamen, as well as the Africans, &c. &c. Another fort contained assertions in answer, as it were, to the objections that had been stated, or were supposed likely to be stated. The putting such resolutions on their Journals might create a difficulty to foreign powers, because what might be a matter of objection to Great-Britain might not be so to any other country. Mr. Fox applauded Mr. Wilberforce, and gave him his thanks for professing to do, what he thought it their duty to do, viz. to completely abolish the traffic in Slaves, a traffic for continuing which on no ground either a plea of policy or necessity could be urged. Wherever an effectual remedy could not be had, Mr. Fox said, he approved a palliative, because something like a remedy was better than no remedy at all; in the present case, an effectual remedy was not only more desirable, but it was much less difficult to be obtained than a palliative. He was glad that the Propositions were to be put upon the Journals, because if from any misfortune the business should fail, while it stood upon the Journals, it might succeed another year; certain it was, it could not fail to succeed sooner or later. Foreign countries, when they heard that the matter had been discussed in that House, might follow the example, or they might go before us, and set one themselves. If this were to happen, though we might be the losers, humanity would be the gainer. Mr. Fox reminded the House that he had always been particularly sanguine that whenever they examined the Slave Trade thoroughly, they would find it not only inhuman, but impolitic; from what the Hon. Gentleman, who had submitted the Propositions to their consideration, had said, it was clear there was as little policy as humanity in the Trade. But what he rose chiefly for, Mr. Fox said, was to notice, what had fallen from the Right Hon. Gentleman respecting the probability of foreign nations assuming the Slave Trade on our abandoning it, and in an illicit manner supplying our West-India Islands with Slaves. He had intended to have risen to have said the very same thing, because he was convinced that it was the fit tone to be held on such a subject, and that foreign nations might be given to understand, that when this country

country thought proper to abolish the Slave Trade, we had resources among us to prevent that Trade being carried on in any manner with our Colonies. With regard to what the Hon. Gentleman, who spoke last had said, in declaring that a clandestine Trade in Slaves was worse than a legal one, he differed entirely. He thought such a trade, if it existed at all, should be only clandestine. A trade in human flesh was so scandalous, that it was to the last degree infamous to let it be openly carried on by the authority of the Government of any country. Mr. Fox said, he had sometimes been thought to use too harsh expressions of France in treating her as the rival of this country. Politically speaking, France certainly was our rival; but he well knew the distinction between political enmity and illiberal prejudice. If there was any great and enlightened nation now existing in Europe, it was France, which was as likely as any nation on the face of the globe, to act on the present subject with warmth, and with enthusiasm; to catch a spark from the light of our fire, and to run a race with us in promoting the ends of humanity. France has been often improperly stimulated by her ambition; he had no doubt, she would in the present instance readily follow its honourable dictates. He concluded with observing, that the business began auspiciously, and promised success.

Mr. Grenville.

Mr. Grenville (the Speaker) said, he did not mean to argue the subject again, which had been reasoned upon so ably; but he should not do justice to his feelings, if he did not express to the House, and to his Hon. Friend, the pleasure and the satisfaction he had received from one of the most masterly and eloquent speeches he had ever heard, a speech which could not fail to do honour to his Hon. Friend, and entitle him to the thanks of that House, of the people of England, of all Europe, and of the latest posterity. Mr. Grenville thought a great advantage might be brought to the question from its being thoroughly discussed, and therefore he was peculiarly happy that his Hon. Friend had introduced the grounds of it in distinct propositions. With regard to our Colonies, we were bound, Mr. Grenville said, to assert our right, to prevent our Islands from having either directly or indirectly, any farther connexion with a trade, which we had thought it our duty to abandon, as unfit to be carried on. That was, as the Right Hon. Gentleman had

had termed it, the proper tone to assume to all Europe on such a subject, and it was besides proper to let our dominions know, that it was in that view we considered it.

Mr. Alderman *Newnham* said, though he wished as well to the cause of Humanity as any man, yet, as a Representative of the City of London, he could not give his consent to a proposition which, if carried, would fill the City with men suffering as much as the poor Africans. The Alderman conceived, that if wise regulations were applied to the Slave Trade so as to cure it of the many abuses that he had no doubt prevailed in it, it might, he was sure, be made a source of revenue and material commercial advantage. If it were abolished altogether, he was persuaded it would render the City of London one scene of bankruptcy and ruin. Standing in the situation that he did in that House, he must suppress his feelings, and act upon motives of prudence. He therefore cautioned his Right Hon. Friend below him (Mr. Fox) and the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite to him, not rashly and precipitately to put an end to a trade, so essentially advantageous as a branch of our national commerce. Let the Right Hon. Gentlemen, the Alderman said, take care, that while they were giving way to the goodness of their hearts, they did not contribute to the ruin of the mercantile interests of their country.

Alderman
Newnham

Mr. *Martin* said, as it had happened the other evening that the Right Hon. Gentleman's sentiments coincided with his own, so the Right Hon. Gentleman had just expressed himself to his heart's content, and said all he could have wished to have said. Mr. Martin declared himself so well satisfied with what had been so ably stated by the Hon. Gentleman who introduced the Propositions, that he was more proud of being an Englishman, than he had ever been before. He was decisively for an unqualified abolition of the Slave Trade, and he flattered himself the policy would be found to go along with the humanity of the measure. With regard to what had fallen from the worthy Alderman, he hoped the worthy Alderman was mistaken; that no such effects as he had predicted would take place in the City of London, but that the Citizens had too much public spirit, to wish that a great national object should not take place merely out of complaisance to the consideration of their private interests.

Mr. Martin,

E

Mr.

Mr. Demp-
ster.

Mr. *Dempster* said, there were Petitions on the table, stating that private injuries would be felt to a considerable amount. He had therefore expected, that the first Proposition the Hon. Gentleman would have come forward with, would have been a proposition to make good, out of the public purse, all the losses individuals were liable to sustain from an abolition of the Slave Trade. That ought, in his mind, to have been the preliminary step. He begged to ask, had the Hon. Gentleman any Plantation of his own? Had the two Right Hon. Gentlemen any plantations? Undoubtedly they had not, neither had he any Plantation. What right then had they to interfere with the interests of those who were Planters? He did not like to be generous out of the pockets of others. It was recommended to them to abolish the Slave Trade on a principle of humanity; undoubtedly they owed humanity to all mankind; but they all owed justice to those who were interested in the event of the question, and had embarked their fortunes on the faith of Parliament. The African Trade had been considered by that House as so valuable, that they had preferred it to all others, and had annually voted a very considerable sum towards carrying it on. They had hitherto deemed it an essential nursery of our seamen, and had cherished it in consequence. Had it really been such as the Hon. Gentleman had represented it, our Ancestors would not have encouraged it any more than they, and therefore upon these and other considerations he could not help thinking, that they should be wanting in their duty, if they abandoned it altogether. Mr. *Dempster* declared, that sugar could be raised much cheaper by Freemen than by Slaves, and that it was a well-known fact that it might. In illustration of this, he stated the various comparative prices of sugars in Batavia, in China, and in other parts of the East, in some of which it was cultivated by Slaves, and in others by Freemen. Having stated this distinctly, he said there was one other point that was material, and that was our taking upon ourselves to provide for the West Indian Planters, and to pronounce upon the means of cultivating their estates. The measure in his mind ought to have originated with them, and some petition should have been received from them, stating what their sentiments were upon the subject, and praying the House to take measures accordingly. The House might, if it pleased, prevent any British Subjects from becoming Slaves, but they could not with any pre-
tence

tence of right prescribe to the Gentlemen of the West Indies by what hands their plantations should be cultivated. Mr. Dempster repeated his assertion, that a commission of enquiry into the losses individuals, concerned in the Slave Trade, were likely to incur by the Abolition of that Trade, ought to issue as the first step to any future proceeding in the business; and when the losses were ascertained, that House should have proceeded to vote an adequate compensation.

Lord *Pembryn* rose again, merely to prevent the Committee from Lord Pembryn.
going away with an idea, that sugar could be cheaply cultivated by freemen. The fact was, that no such thing was practicable. It had been tried, and tried in vain. Notwithstanding the *reversies*, therefore, of the Hon. Gentleman who began the debate, that speculation must be abandoned. There were mortgages in the West India Islands, his Lordship said, to the amount of seventy millions; the question therefore was, if they passed the vote of Abolition, they actually struck at seventy millions of property, they ruined the Colonies, and by destroying an essential nursery for seamen, give up the dominion of the sea at a single glance.

Mr. *Smith* (Member for Sudbury) said, he could not state his Mr. Smith.
concurrence with the propositions, without testifying his heart-felt satisfaction at the manner in which the Hon. Gentleman who opened the debate, if it could be called a debate, had treated the subject. Mr. Smith gave Mr. Burke or Mr. Fox, (we know not which) credit for his sentiments, and declared, that he really did not expect any other at his hands than those he heard from him. He cited a sentence coincident to one of the Right Hon. Gentleman's arguments of that day, from a pamphlet relative to the East Indies, written some years since, and desired to lay in his claim (when they were to discuss the business fully) to go into the assertions of the noble Lord and Hon. Gentleman, the other Member for Liverpool: considering the situation of those Gentlemen, no men were more candid, but, as he did not feel any of those prejudices arising from connection, he wished the business to be fully examined, being satisfied that the more it was gone into, the more its total abolition would be found to be necessary and proper. He took notice of the various predictions of several Gentlemen, who had held out ideas of the mischievous consequences that would follow the abolition, and read an extract from a pamphlet pub-

lished in 1781, by Stephen Fuller, Esq; which was apposite to the subject.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt rose again, not, he said, to discuss the subject a single moment, but lest the House should go away with an idea that he acceded to the proposition of the Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery, who had suggested the necessity of making a compensation for any losses that might be incurred by the people of Liverpool, or elsewhere; he thought it necessary to state that he did not acquiesce in the idea; nor even, should the fact turn out that any losses of the sort in question should be incurred, could he reconcile the listening to any claim of that kind, and giving a compensation to any one principle of legislation.

Alderman
Sawbridge.

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* followed the line of argument adopted by his colleague, Mr. Alderman Newnham, and declared, he was not ready to say that it was expedient for that country to abolish the Slave Trade altogether; he thought, under wise and useful regulations, it might be rendered highly beneficial both to the commerce and revenue of the country.

The Chairman was directed to report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

The House rose at Eleven o'Clock.

Correct Copies of the Twelve Propositions submitted on Tuesday evening by Mr. WILBERFORCE, to the consideration of the Committee, to whom the Report of the Privy Council, various Petitions for the Abolition of the SLAVE TRADE, and other Papers relative thereto, had been referred; which Propositions were by consent ordered to lie on the Table.

I.

That the number of Slaves annually carried from the coast of Africa in British vessels, is supposed to amount to about 38,000.

That the number annually carried to the British West India islands has amounted to about 22,500, on an average of four years, to the year 1787 inclusive.

That the number annually retained in the said islands, as far as appears by the Custom-House Accounts, has amounted on the same average, to about 17,500.

S L A V E T R A D E.

II.

That much the greater number of the Negroes carried away by European vessels are brought from the interior parts of the continent of Africa, and many of them from a very great distance.

That no precise information appears to have been obtained of the manner in which these persons have been made Slaves.

But that from the accounts, as far as any have been procured on this subject, with respect to the Slaves brought from the interior parts of Africa, and from the information which has been received respecting the countries nearer to the Coast, the Slaves may in general be classed under some of the following descriptions:

1st. Prisoners taken in war.

2d. Free persons sold for debt, or on account of real or imputed crimes, particularly adultery and witchcraft, in which cases they are frequently sold with their whole families, and sometimes for the profit of those by whom they are condemned.

3d. Domestic Slaves sold for the profit of their masters, in some places at the will of the masters, and in some places on being condemned by them, for real or imputed crimes.

4th. Persons made Slaves by various acts of oppression, violence, or fraud, committed either by the princes and chiefs of those countries on their subjects, or by private individuals on each other, or lastly by Europeans, engaged in this traffic.

III.

That the trade carried on by European nations on the coast of Africa for the purchase of Slaves, has necessarily a tendency to occasion frequent and cruel wars among the natives, to produce unjust convictions and punishments for pretended or aggravated crimes, to encourage acts of oppression, violence and fraud, and to obstruct the natural course of civilization and improvement in those countries.

IV.

That the continent of Africa, in its present state, furnishes several valuable articles of commerce, highly important to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, and which are in a great measure peculiar to that quarter of the globe: And that the soil and climate have been found by experience well adapted to the production of other articles, with which we are now either wholly or in great part supplied by foreign nations.

That.

That an extensive commerce with Africa in these commodities might probably be substituted in the place of that which is now carried on in Slaves, so as at least to afford a return for the same quantity of goods as has annually been carried thither in British vessels: And lastly, that such a commerce might reasonably be expected to increase in proportion to the progress of civilization and improvement on that continent.

V.

That the Slave Trade has been found by experience to be peculiarly injurious and destructive to the British seamen, who have been employed therein. And that the mortality among them has been much greater than his Majesty's ships stationed on the coast of Africa, or than has been usual in British vessels employed in any other trade.

VI.

That the mode of transporting the Slaves from Africa to the West Indies, necessarily exposes them to many and grievous sufferings, for which no regulations can provide an adequate remedy; and that in consequence thereof, a large proportion of them has annually perished during the voyage.

VII.

That a large proportion of the Slaves so transported has also perished in the harbours in the West Indies, previous to their being sold: That this loss is stated by the Assembly of the island of Jamaica at about four and a half per cent. of the number imported; and is by medical persons of experience in that island ascribed in great measure to diseases contracted during the voyage; and to the mode of treatment on board the ships, by which those diseases have been suppressed for a time, in order to render the Slaves fit for immediate sale.

VIII.

That the loss of newly imported Negroes within the first three years after their importation, bears a large proportion to the whole number imported.

IX.

That the natural increase of population among the Slaves in the islands appears to have been impeded principally by the following causes.

1st. The inequality of the sexes in the importations from Africa.

That

2d. The general dissoluteness of manners among the Slaves, and the want of proper regulations for the encouragement of marriages, and of rearing children.

3d. The particular diseases which are prevalent among them, and which are in some instances attributed to too severe labour, or rigorous treatment, and in others to insufficient or improper food.

4th. Those diseases which affect a large proportion of Negro children in their infancy, and those to which the Negroes newly imported from Africa have been found to be particularly liable.

X.

That the whole number of Slaves in the Island of Jamaica in 1768, was about — — — 167,000

That the number in 1774 was, as stated by Governor Keith, about — — — 193,000

And that the number in December, 1787, as stated by

Lieut. Governor Clerke, was about — — — 256,000

That by comparing these numbers with the numbers imported into and retained in the island in the several years from 1768 to 1774 inclusive, as appearing from the accounts delivered to the Committee of Trade by Mr. Fuller, and in the several years from 1775 inclusive, to 1787 also inclusive, as appearing by the accounts delivered in by the Inspector General, and allowing for a loss of about 1-22d part by deaths on ship-board after entry, as stated in the report of the Assembly of the said Island of Jamaica, it appears, that the annual excess of deaths above births in the Island, in the whole period of 19 years, has been in the proportion of about 7-8ths per cent. computing on the medium number of Slaves in the Island during that period. That in the first six years of the said nineteen, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather more than one on every hundred on the medium number. That in the last thirteen years of the said nineteen, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of about three fifths on every hundred on the medium number: and that a number of Slaves, amounting to 15,000, is stated by the Report of the Island of Jamaica to have perished during the latter period in consequence of repeated hurricanes, and of the want of foreign supplies of provisions.

XI.

That the whole number of Slaves in the Island of Barbadoes was in the year 1764, according to the account given in to the Committee of Trade by Mr. Braithwaite, — — — 70,706

That

That in 1774 the number was, by the same account	74,874
In 1780, by ditto — — — — —	68,270
In 1781, after the hurricane, according to the same account	63,248
In 1786, by ditto — — — — —	62,115

That by comparing these numbers with the number imported into this Island, according to the same account (not allowing for any re-exportation) that the annual excess of deaths above births in the 10 years from 1764 to 1774, was in the proportion of about five on every hundred, computing on the medium number of Slaves in the Island during that period.

That in the seven years from 1774 to 1780, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of about one and one-third on every hundred on the medium number.

That between the year 1780 and 1781, there appears to have been a decrease in the number of Slaves of about 5000.

That in the six years from 1781 to 1786, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather less than seven-eighths in every hundred on the medium number.

And that in the four years from 1783 to 1786, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather less than one-third in every hundred on the medium number.

And that during the whole period there is no doubt that some were exported from the island, but considerably more in the first part of this period than in the last.

XII.

That the accounts from the Leeward Islands and from Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincents, do not furnish sufficient grounds for comparing the state of population in the said Islands at different periods, with the number of Slaves which have been from time to time imported into the said Islands, and exported therefrom. But that from the evidence which has been received respecting the present state of these Islands, as well as of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and from a consideration of the means of obviating the causes which have hitherto operated to impede the natural increase of the Slaves, and of lessening the demand of manual labour, without diminishing the profit of the Planter, it appears that no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the farther importation of African Slaves.

T H E E N D.



